POLITICAL AWAKENING OF BLACK AFRICA

by

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POLITICAL AWAKENING OF BLACK AFRICA

BLACK AFRICA—an area between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn which is three times the size of the United States—has been taking an increasingly prominent place in the world's news. Evolution of the Gold Coast and British Togoland into Ghana, an independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, has dramatized a snowballing movement toward self-government in what used to be the darkest part of the Dark Continent.

The European powers which still have colonies in Africa—Belgium, Britain, France, Portugal, and Spain—are all facing the necessity of adjusting to the drive for political independence, which has been gaining momentum at a startling pace. In the meantime, the United States and the Soviet Union are beginning to compete for the favor of the 140 million people who inhabit a region that is rich in mineral resources.

NIXON'S RECENT TOUR OF MIDDLE AND NORTH AFRICA

Vice President Nixon's attendance a month ago at Ghana's inauguration as a state, and his tour of seven other countries or colonies in Middle and North Africa, demonstrated the high degree of significance attached to the awakening continent by the United States. When Nixon departed from Washington, Feb. 28, he said that Africa's future political course might well be "decisive in the struggle which is taking place today between the forces of freedom and the forces of slavery."

Nixon visited Morocco, Ghana, Liberia, Uganda, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Libya, and Tunisia in the course of a three-week, 19,000-mile journey. Using the hand-shaking technique perfected in his political campaigns and on earlier foreign tours, the Vice President made a big hit with the African crowds. In more formal contacts with government leaders he consistently emphasized the point that American

aid programs—and the Eisenhower Doctrine—were designed to buttress, not to undermine, the independence of the assisted nations. He observed in Ghana that that country's transformation from colonial status into a free state wedded to western parliamentary principles was "tremendously significant" and might have great influence on the future of tropical Africa.

Position of Newly Independent Nation of Ghana,

Ghana's attainment of independent statehood on Mar. 6, and its admission to the United Nations two days later, directed attention to the gathering movement for independence in other African colonies. The eyes of the whole African continent are on Ghana, because it is the first all-Negro colony to gain independence and the first to have an all-Negro cabinet and elected legislature. Its Americaneducated prime minister, Kwame Nkrumah, told the Ghana parliament at its opening session that the country would serve as a model for, and promote the interests of, all African peoples working for freedom and social progress.

Nkrumah has indicated that he wants the new state to become the hub of the African nationalist movement. He has announced plans to call a conference of neighboring states to lay the groundwork for a federation of West African nations. During a state visit to Liberia earlier this year, Nkrumah expressed the view that such a federation should be followed ultimately by a wider grouping which would include other African states. Black Africa then would be in position to rival the North African Arab nations for leadership of the Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations.

Because Ghana is the potential leader of Black Africa, it is in the interest of the great powers to cultivate its friend-ship. In a statement issued on Mar. 6, Nkrumah declared: "The government of Ghana feels that at this stage the country should not be committed in any aspect of its foreign policy and that it should not be aligned with any particular group of powers or political bloc." He went on to indicate that Ghana, while preserving "its independence to act as . . . may seem best at any particular time," would not pursue a neutralist policy.

¹Ghana was named for an ancient African kingdom which flourished between 800 A.D. and 1076 A.D. in what is now the French Sudan.

⁶ Nkrumah received a bachelor's degree from Lincoln University at Oxford, Pa., in 1989 and a master's degree later from the University of Pennsylvania.

No further clue to Ghana's future attitude toward the Soviet bloc has been given; the Soviet Union's representatives at the independence celebration invited the Ghana parliament to send a delegation to visit the U.S.S.R. Nkrumah is understood to have told Nixon that Ghana could "never be neutral" in the cold war.

COMMUNIST AND ARAB ACTIVITY IN TROPICAL AFRICA

The awakening people of Black Africa have become a prime target for Communist infiltration. Vice President Nixon said in Uganda, Mar. 10, that Communism seemingly had made little progress in the areas he had visited, but he added: "There is no doubt that Africa is a major target of the international Communist movement because of . . [its] resources and its 200 million" people. The journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs has pointed out that the U.S.S.R. regards Africa "on the one hand as the potential weak link in the West's psychological front . . . and on the other as a potential strategic base and source of nuclear raw material for the West." In the past two years, Soviet-orbit regimes have stepped up their activities on a variety of fronts in the Sudan, Liberia, Ethiopia, and elsewhere in tropical Africa.

Even before the Sudan became independent on Jan. 1, 1956, experts had gone there from East Germany to work on water-supply problems and a Soviet economic mission had offered other technical assistance. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and the U.S.S.R. have established diplomatic relations with the new nation. A year ago the Sudan reportedly accepted Soviet economic and technical assistance and agreed to expand trade with East Germany. Red arms purchases also have been reported.

Liberia first received offers of economic and technical aid from the U.S.S.R. in January 1956, when a Soviet delegation attended the third inauguration of President William Tubman. Although diplomatic relations were entered into shortly thereafter, Tubman turned down the proffered assistance. The offer was renewed this year but so far has not been accepted. President Tubman, a Negro whose parents were born in Georgia, disclosed on Mar. 9 that he had refused to allow a Polish economic mission to come to Liberia because his country preferred to exploit its resources through private enterprise.

[&]quot;Soviet Interest in Africa," The World Today, September 1956, p. 361.

In French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa the Communists have worked mainly through fellow-traveler youth, women's, and peace-front organizations. Ethiopia has received trade missions from Bulgaria, Czecho-slovakia, and East Germany and has accepted technical aid and equipment from Poland. It has played host to a theatrical troupe from Communist China and has allowed Soviet doctors to operate a hospital offering free care and nursing instruction to villagers.

Ethiopia has been the object of Egyptian as well as Communist attention. Emperor Haile Selassie asserted, Feb. 15, that Egypt had been fomenting subversion in his country. He accused the Nasser government of trying to stir up the large Moslem minority of southeast Ethiopia in the hope of ultimately incorporating that region in a "Greater Somalia" subservient to Egypt.

Cairo reportedly has been financing the Somali Youth League, whose object is to unify the three Somalilands.4 The Egyptian radio for more than a year has sought to arouse Moslem populations not only of the Somali area but also of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Angola, and North Africa. It has proclaimed Egypt's intention to unite Africans and Arabs to fight imperialism and work for the so-called liberation of Africa. French observers asserted in February that Egypt, "with financial and political backing from the Soviet Union," had begun an "economic, religious, cultural, and ideological penetration of at least eight areas of Africa . . . [in order] to foment eventual revolution by Moslem elements." The immediate goal, they said, appeared to be to destroy the independence of Ethiopia, while the long-range objective was to gain control also of Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Nigeria, the Somalilands, and Zanzibar.5

⁴ British Somaliland and French Somaliland are protectorates. The former Italian Somaliland is a trust territory administered for the United Nations by Italy; it is due to become the independent state of Somalia in 1980.

⁵ Reported by Frank Kelley in copyrighted dispatch from Paris in New York Hereld Tribune, Feb. 12, 1957. Kennett Love, writing from London in the New York Times of May 26, 1956, reported that British experts thought the Soviet Union was "using Egypt as a bridge to establish contact with Communist networks in French North Africa as a preliminary to the main objective" of achieving political and commercial predominance in Africa.

Progress Along Road To Self-Government

UNTIL A FEW YEARS AGO, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and the Union of South Africa were the only independent states in the whole of Africa. Libya, a former Italian colony, joined the company late in 1951. The Sudan, Morocco, and Tunisia became independent last year-the Sudan on Jan. 1, Morocco on Mar. 2, Tunisia on Mar. 20, 1956. Certain British dependencies are moving toward independence close on the heels of Ghana. French territories in tropical Africa have been given increased local autonomy.

Reports from U.N. African trust territories-Italian Somaliland, French Togoland, British and French Cameroons, Tanganyika, and Ruanda-Urundi-have revealed for the most part "a steady increase in the number of Africans holding responsible government posts; the widespread development of local government . . . ; an increase in the powers of local legislatures; a tremendous extension of the right to vote; and the mushrooming of political parties." 6 One American authority on African affairs has said that "Surely, the time is near at hand when the majority of Africans will be governing themselves." 7

FACTORS ACCELERATING MOVEMENT FOR SELF-RULE

World War II and its aftermath quickened nationalist forces in Africa and speeded up the movement for selfgovernment. Participation in the war in one way or another by virtually all the colonies, the widespread attention paid to such declarations as the Atlantic Charter and the U.N. Charter, and granting of freedom soon after the war to India, Indonesia, Pakistan, and the Philippines, all served to nourish a spirit of independence among. Africans. The United Nations contributed to intensification of agitation for self-rule by sending visiting missions to the trust territories and by allowing natives of those areas to petition the Trusteeship Council and the General Assemblyactivities which stimulate excitement in Africa.

The drive toward independence in Black Africa has been promoted or held back by the attitude of the governing

^{*}Vernon McKay, "Too Slow or Too Fast? Political Change in African Trust Terri-ries," Foreign Affairs, January 1987, p. 297.

**Harry R. Rudin, "The International Position of Africa Today," Annals of the merican Academy of Political and Social Science, July 1986, p. 54.

states toward pressures for self-rule. Great Britain long has followed a policy of preparing its dependencies for self-government within the Commonwealth. France before the war regarded its overseas territories as extensions of the mother country and encouraged Africans to qualify themselves for the benefits and privileges of French citizenship rather than to develop along their own lines. Portugal considered its colonies overseas provinces and, like France, aimed at assimilation of natives who had attained certain qualifications. Belgium looked upon the people of its African possessions as wards and did not let them participate in political administration.

Since the war ended, Belgium has allowed Africans to become Belgian citizens, but it still has not granted them rights of political expression. France has extended greater autonomy in local government to its territories in tropical Africa. Britain has increased native representation in local governments, appointed Africans to senior administrative and executive posts, and enlarged participation of natives in economic development. Some of the British colonies have made relatively rapid strides toward self-government, while Ghana and the British-administered Sudan have become independent.

SUDAN'S ATTAINMENT OF FULL SOVEREIGNTY IN 1956

The chain of events that culminated in the Sudan's attainment of full sovereignty on Jan. 1, 1956, after more than half a century as an Anglo-Egyptian condominium, began in February 1953.⁸ Britain and Egypt signed an agreement at that time which recognized the Sudan's right to self-determination and provided for termination of the condominium, for a transitional period of self-government, and for election of a parliament. The election, the first general election in Sudanese history, was held in November 1953.

The new government began in March 1954 to put Sudanese in all senior positions in the civil, police, and defense services. When that process was completed, in July 1955, the Sudanese parliament asked Britain and Egypt to withdraw their military forces within 90 days. The troops

⁸ In 1899, after a joint Anglo-Egyptian force had defeated Sudanese nationalists who had rebelled against Egyptian rule, Britain and Egypt set up a condominium to administer the Sudan. Egypt theoretically had equal status in the arrangement, but Britain actually supervised the administration; by 1924 all Egyptian officials had been withdrawn.

departed on schedule, and Britain and Egypt signed an agreement in December 1955 providing for (1) a plebiscite in the Sudan on the question of union with Egypt or complete independence and (2) the concurrent election of a constituent assembly.

The Sudanese parliament by-passed that agreement, however, and late the same month adopted a resolution declaring the country's independence as of Jan. 1, 1956. Britain and Egypt, while surprised, did not protest. The Sudanese parliament swore in a five-member Supreme Commission as the sovereign governing body of the new nation. Election of a new parliament and approval of a constitution are expected soon.

ACHIEVEMENT OF INDEPENDENT STATEHOOD BY GHANA

Ghana's attainment of independence provides another example of successful application of the British system of preparation for statehood. A study recently prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Library of Congress stated: "Few countries at any time or place have progressed as expeditiously from the state of tribal institutions to that of a modern state based on representative government." Constitutional reforms introduced shortly after World War II failed to satisfy the people of the Gold Coast, and in 1948 riots and strikes threatened orderly progress toward self-rule. Nkrumah was jailed in 1950 for fomenting strikes but in 1951, after elections held under a new constitution had put his party in power, he was released. The following year he became the Gold Coast's first prime minister.

The British government cleared the way in April 1954 for election, by secret ballot and universal suffrage, of a unicameral assembly and for selection of an all-African cabinet. The Gold Coast government was to have full executive, legislative, and judicial authority except in matters relating to public order, defense, and foreign affairs, which were reserved to the British governor. In the election held in June 1954 Nkrumah's party won on promises to obtain complete independence before the new government's four-year term of office expired.

Agitation by the opposition party for a federal rather than a unitary state—the country was composed of three regions: the Gold Coast, the Northern Territories, and

Ashanti—eventually provoked a test of the Nkrumah government's strength. The British government asked for a general election to determine the will of the people before it took action on the independence question. An election held in July 1956 gave Nkrumah's party an easy victory, and the assembly thereupon submitted a request for independence. In the meantime, the inhabitants of the trust territory of British Togoland had voted in a U.N.-supervised plebiscite in May in favor of union with the Gold Coast. The British government agreed last September to grant independence and in February it approved a constitution for the new state of Ghana.

STEPS TOWARD SELF-RULE IN FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

Fairly close behind the Gold Coast on the road to independence is Britain's largest dependency, the Federation of Nigeria. Chairman Theodore Francis Green (D-R.I.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who toured Africa last autumn, observed in a report on Feb. 21 that independence for Nigeria was "on its way"; only the date, he said, was uncertain. A conference between Nigerian leaders and British officials to discuss future steps toward the goal of independence is expected to be held in London in May.

Nigeria has been administered since 1954 as a federation of three regions, which are widely disparate in cultural and political characteristics. A new constitution was put into effect in October 1954, a unicameral assembly was elected the following month, and the government took office in January 1955. The constitution provided for greater regional autonomy and offered the three regions self-government within the central federation by 1956, if they so desired. At the forthcoming London conference, the Eastern and Western Regions are expected to accept the offer, but the Northern Region probably will decide to wait.

Federation was considered the only feasible method of unifying Nigeria, but the plan adopted three years ago has not been an unalloyed success. According to an American authority, it has resulted in "partially separate budgets, tax schedules and requirements, and separate governmental organs with their own council of ministers, prime minister, . . . assembly, administrative service." The fact that the regional governments have been left to follow their own roads to political development, while the role of the

central government has remained unclear, has made it difficult to create a "consciousness of national membership" and to promote a "viable central system of authority for a united Nigeria." 9

PARTNERSHIP. EXPERIMENT IN RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

Far to the southeast of Nigeria lies the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a curious union of three states whose progress toward independence also has been affected by conflict over the issue of federal government. Unlike Ghana and Nigeria, which have only a few thousand white inhabitants, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have a sizable white minority. The federation therefore was established, at least nominally, on the principle of racial partnership. The British government approved a federal constitution in mid-1953; the initial election was held in December of that year; and the federal government took over in July 1954.

The federation brought together the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia, which borders the Union of South Africa, and the protectorates of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia has an elected parliament, a cabinet selected from that body, and full responsibility for its own affairs with the sole limitation that the British government has the right to veto legislation which discriminates against Africans. Northern Rhodesia has an appointed executive council and a largely elected legislative council. Nyasaland also is governed by a system of executive and legislative councils.

The federal government is administered by a governor-general, a prime minister, and a cabinet drawn from an assembly consisting of 33 elected and two appointed members; only six members of the assembly are Africans. A theoretical safeguard for native interests is supplied by a standing committee, known as the African Affairs Board and composed of three natives and three Europeans, which is supposed to detect potentially harmful federal legislation and recommend substitute measures.

The federal assembly does not have authority to enact laws concerning certain matters, such as primary and sec-

David E. Apter, "British West Africa; Patterns of Self-Government," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1955, p. 126.

¹⁰ Recent estimates show 234,000 Europeans, 6,810,000 Africans, and 28,000 persons of other races.

ondary African education, but it does have power to legislate in such fields as immigration, trade, and foreign affairs. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is planning to open its first diplomatic mission abroad, a mission attached to the British Embassy in Washington, late this month. Thus, although the federation is not yet a sovereign state, it "enjoys virtual responsible government." ¹¹

The federal constitution stipulates that a conference to discuss revision of the basic law shall be held no later than 1962 but no earlier than 1960. Movements for change already are under way. The party in power, which is primarily responsible for federation, is committed to the theory of racial partnership. On the other hand, opposition parties representing European interests repudiate partnership, favor white supremacy, and propose amending the constitution to provide for a unitary state and early achievement of dominion status. The parties representing native interests in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland naturally reject the proposals of the European opposition parties, but at the same time they dislike and distrust federation.¹²

When British Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd visited the Rhodesias last January, he was bombarded by African demands for dissolution of the federation and by European demands for stronger controls. He indicated firmly, however, that federation was "here to stay." Speaking to a multi-racial audience in the capital of Southern Rhodesia on Jan. 9, Lennox-Boyd said the aim of both British and federation governments remained "partnership, and not either secession or amalgamation." He added that "It must be a partnership in which the government is for all time in the hands of civilized, responsible people of all the races whose homes are here."

African leaders have stepped up their agitation for an end to various forms of racial discrimination prevalent in the federation, 18 and both the federal and territorial authorities have taken steps to make the theory of racial partner-

¹³ Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., "The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Problems of Democratic Government," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July 1956, p. 98.

¹⁸ Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have been reluctant to "exchange their protectorate status for a vague concept of partnership." They resisted federation "for fear of white domination and for fear that social and political progress would be denied." They have preferred protectorate status, "at least for the time being, . . . primarily because they feel that it would give them a better chance for ultimate fulfillment of their demands."—bid., p. 99.

¹⁶ Dissatisfaction of the African miners in the Northern Rhodesian "Copperbelt" with color bare, pay scales, and advancement programs resulted in 16 strikes in three months last year.

ship more meaningful. The federal government has established an inter-racial university and opened the civil service to all races. The Southern Rhodesian government has given African workers plots for homes in the municipal areas, undertaken to open new secondary schools and teacher training colleges for Africans, and planned a single, multi-racial trade-union system.

PRESSURE FOR SELF-RULE IN UGANDA, KENYA, TANGANYIKA

The British protectorate of Uganda, which lies between Kenya and the Belgian Congo, has only a few thousand white inhabitants among five million Africans. While not bothered by racial problems, it has been wracked by demands for self-rule. The examples set by the Sudan, its northern neighbor, and the new state of Ghana have prompted nationalist leaders of Uganda to press for early self-government. The British, however, maintain that Uganda is not yet ready for self-rule. Consequently, they have sought to keep the nationalistic fervor in bounds while trying to increase opportunities for native participation in government.

Administration of the protectorate is entrusted to a governor, an executive council, and a legislative council, and at least 30 of the 60 members of the legislative council must be Africans. Since August 1955 a number of native ministers have served on Uganda's executive council. Moreover, the civil service is open to any qualified African, and most of the administrative duties are performed by natives.

Direct elections to the legislative council may be held this year in Buganda, one of the states of Uganda, and it is planned to hold such elections throughout Uganda in 1961. Some nationalist leaders apparently had assumed that self-rule would be forthcoming at that time, but the governor told the legislative council last spring that 1961 had "in no sense been accepted as a target date for self-government." 14

Neighboring Kenya, torn for nearly four years by the Mau Mau terror—British military operations against the terrorists came to an end only last November—has begun to move slowly in the direction of wider African participation in government. The colony and protectorate of Kenya, like Uganda, is administered by a governor, executive coun-

²⁴ Quoted in New Commonwealth (London), May 14, 1956, p. 300.

cil, and legislative council. The legislative council has had a few African members for years, but they were all appointed members until last month. In mid-March eight Africans were elected to the 54-member body by a select minority of Africans eligible to vote.

South of Kenya, in Britain's trust territory of Tangan-yika, formerly German East Africa, a rapidly growing Negro nationalist movement has been agitating for definite steps toward self-government. However, Negro political leaders oppose the policy of a multi-racial government favored by the British for a territory whose population includes Arab and Asian as well as European groups. It was announced at the end of March that Tanganyika's first election would be held in 1958, when a restricted electorate in three or four of the territory's nine constituencies will vote for minority members of the legislative council; each voter will be required to vote for one African, one European, and one Asian candidate.

MOVES TOWARD GREATER AUTONOMY IN FRENCH AFRICA

France, following the world trend toward self-administration for dependent peoples, took action last summer to grant increased autonomy to French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa—as well as other overseas territories. The principal aim of the Overseas Reform Act of 1956, according to the French Press and Information Service, is to decentralize administration of overseas territories "in such a way as to give . . . [their] populations an increased consciousness of their civic responsibilities and enable them to acquire greater experience in the management of public affairs."

The law authorized the French government to effect various reforms in the colonies by decree. Included were such reforms as granting of universal suffrage, institution of a single-college electoral system in place of separate systems for native and European voters, reorganization of the civil service to enable Africans to fill more executive posts, and broadening of the powers of the territorial assemblies.

Universal suffrage and a single electoral college were introduced last year, and the first balloting under the new system, in the Ivory Coast in November, resulted in election of a number of Africans as mayors. A decree imple-

menting reforms relating to territorial assemblies and councils of ministers was approved in February. It authorized the assemblies to elect all ministers and provided that a minister should serve as vice premier; the French governor was to act as premier. New assemblies were elected on Mar. 31, and the ministerial councils are to be set up shortly:

The councils are to be responsible for local affairs, and the assemblies are to control the budget. However, the power in such major fields as foreign affairs, army and police forces, and over-all economic policy is to remain in French hands. In the opinion of the Paris correspondent of the London *Economist*: "The autonomy offered [French Africans] is strictly local. . . . [It] means, essentially, a real forum for political aspirations in the assemblies; control of local government; and the quicker growth of a Negro civil service. Whatever its limitations, [however,] the new system is far the biggest step to emancipation ever taken freely in the French Union." 15

ESTABLISHMENT OF AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC OF TOGOLAND

The trust territory of French Togoland is considered a pilot project in implementation of the Overseas Reform Act. Nearly a year before that law was enacted, the Togolese territorial assembly unanimously asked Paris to terminate Togoland's status as a U.N. trust territory and make it a self-governing republic associated with France. Adoption of the Overseas Reform Act made it possible for the French government to comply. France offered the Togolese assembly a statute of self-government last August, and Togoland then declared itself a self-governing republic within the French Union.

In the meantime, France had proposed to the United Nations that a referendum be held in Togoland to determine whether its people preferred (a) continuation of the trusteeship or (b) an autonomous status. Paris requested the U.N. Trusteeship Council to send a mission to observe the voting, but it "denied the United Nations a voice in framing the questions and shaping the plebiscite arrangements, . . . [and] the Council rejected the invitation because of this arbitrary behavior." 18

^{16 &}quot;French African Autonomy," The Economiet, Feb. 9, 1957, p. 479.

Wernon McKay, "Too Slow or Too Fast? Political Change in African Trust Territories," Foreign Affairs, January 1957, p. 296.

Although an opposition minority boycotted the balloting on Oct. 28, 1956, about three-fourths of the voters favored termination of the trusteeship regime and establishment of the republic. France asked the United Nations early in January to recognize the results of the referendum and declare the trusteeship at an end. After several weeks of debate the General Assembly voted instead to send a mission to Togoland to examine the "entire situation."

In its new status as an autonomous republic Togoland is administered by a French high commissioner and a Togolese legislative assembly, prime minister, and council of ministers. The legislative assembly is elected by direct, universal suffrage. It is the duty of the high commissioner to coordinate French and Togolese action in matters of common interest and—in the words of the self-government statute—"see to the wise administration of justice and maintenance of law and order." The Togoland government is responsible for such matters as commerce, transportation, agriculture, and local police services. France retains authority over defense, foreign affairs, education, foreign trade, and certain public services.

STIRRINGS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN BELGIAN CONGO

Unlike Britain and France, Belgium has put chief emphasis on the economic, rather than the political, development of its dependent peoples. The Belgian Congo has no legislature, no elective officials, and no vote—for either Europeans or Africans. The colony is administered by a governor-general responsible to the Minister of Colonies in Brussels. Partly as a result of U.N. pressure, however, Belgian authorities have begun to appoint Africans to government posts and to carry out some local government reforms. Last year a number of political and religious leaders in Belgium discussed ultimate freeing of the Congo.

Congolese spokesmen themselves began last July, for the first time, to talk openly and specifically about self-determination. A small periodical named Conscience Africaine published a manifesto calling on Belgium to grant the Congo "complete political emancipation" within 30 years. A cultural association of the Bacongo people criticized Conscience Africaine for its moderation and rejected the 30-year deadline as too remote.

United States and Lands of Black Africa

WHAT HAPPENS IN AFRICA is of vital interest to the United States because this country needs her raw materials, access to strategic sites on her lands, and the good will of her peoples. Black Africa supplies an important percentage of U.S. requirements of many critical materials. The Congo is the world's largest source of high-grade uranium, cobalt, and industrial diamonds. Nigeria is the foremost producer of columbite, a mineral used in the manufacture of special steels. Ghana is the second largest exporter of manganese. Rhodesia is rich in copper, lead, and zinc; Uganda in tin, tungsten, and mica. Not only is it important for the United States to be able to rely on African sources of such minerals, but it is also important for this country to ensure that the Soviet bloc does not pre-empt them for its own use.

From the standpoint of military strategy, Africa is vitally important to the United States and its West European allies as the site of bases and potential staging areas. The major U.S. bases in Africa are in Morocco and Libya, ¹⁷ but there are installations also in Liberia and in Eritrea, a former Italian colony now federated with Ethiopia. The United States has been negotiating with Ethiopia for the right to establish certain naval and communications facilities in that country.

According to one observer, "Access to Africa would be absolutely vital in the deployment of American offensive power in another world war."

American power has lost strategic access to Asia as a result of the rise of Russia, the hostility of China, and the neutralism of India. Its ability to maintain a firm foothold in Western Europe is open to question. . . In another war, the security of the Mediterrean is far from certain. Because of its geographical relationship to the highways of the Mediterranean, to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and to oil fields of the Middle East, Africa would immediately become part of the global front line in the event of war. If the influence of the West continues to deteriorate in Egypt and the Arab areas generally, East Africa in particular would be an indispensable staging area. 18

¹⁷ See "Future of Overseas Bases," E.R.R., Vol. I 1957, pp. 88-69.

¹⁸ Cornelis W. de Kiewiet, "African Dilemmas," Foreign Affaire, April 1955, pp. 445-447.

In addition to wanting access to Africa's raw materials and strategic locations, the United States desires the good will of the millions of Africans now becoming independent. It is important to this country that the emerging African states evolve in a manner not inimical to western interests. In the report of his African tour issued in February, Chairman Green of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said that the United States must "convince the Africans that their aspirations will be best served by their free association with the rest of the free world." But he added: "If . . . we support a country's yearnings for national autonomy, . . . we must also be prepared . . . to extend to it . . . the kind of assistance which it requires to preserve that independence."

ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL AID FOR TROPICAL AFRICA

Economic assistance extended by the United States to the various countries and colonies of Black Africa has amounted to no more than an infinitesimal percentage of this nation's total postwar aid programs. Various forms of economic and technical aid have gone to the independent countries of Ethiopia and Liberia and to such dependent territories as the Gold Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Tanganyika, French West and Equatorial Africa, and the Belgian Congo. Aid to the dependencies ordinarily has been supplementary to the development programs of the mother countries and has consisted of relatively small undertakings. At present, U.S. technical assistance programs of significant size are being carried on only in Ethiopia and Liberia, not in the Middle African colonial territories.19

After conducting extensive studies of aid programs in various underdeveloped areas, a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on technical assistance, headed by Sen. Michael J. Mansfield (D-Mont.), reported Mar. 9 that "The United States should be prepared to increase substantially its technical assistance programs in Africa within the limits of each country's absorptive capacity." The subcommittee pointed out that "One of the greatest needs is help for newly independent states in public administration and resource utilization." Vice President Nixon is expected to recommend stepping up of economic and technical aid to the region.

¹⁸ See "Africa and the West," E.R.R., Vol. II 1952, pp. 637-639.

PROPOSED EXPANSION OF U.S. GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Nixon reportedly will recommend also that American educational and cultural exchange programs for Africans be enlarged and that U.S. Information Service activities on that continent be expanded. It is understood that he will urge that more highly trained personnel be assigned to information centers, consulates, and embassies. The Vice President already has told reporters that the number of American diplomatic representatives in Africa should be increased. The State Department announced, Mar. 25, that four new consulates would be opened within the next few months—in Uganda, the French Cameroons, the Ivory Coast, and Italian Somaliland; three others may be set up in the fiscal year beginning July 1—in French Equatorial Africa, Nigeria, and Madagascar.

The State Department plans also—provided Congress appropriates the necessary funds—to make the offices handling African affairs in the Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs a separate bureau under an Assistant Secretary. There has been speculation over the possibility that the new post might be filled by Rep. Frances P. Bolton (R-Ohio), a leading congressional advocate of expanded American activity in Africa. Mrs. Bolton made a three-month tour of the continent in the autumn of 1955.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST IN AMERICAN POLICY ON AFRICA

Critics of U.S. policy toward Africa have asserted that it has failed to keep pace with developments there and that the policy-makers have attempted to please both the colonial powers and their subjects without satisfying either.²⁰ Its defenders concede that enunciation of the policy may be ambiguous, but they contend that its substance is unmistakable. They assert that in essence the United States supports the idea of independence for peoples who have the desire for it and the capacity to maintain it. A former Assistant Secretary of State, George V. Allen, has commented on American policy toward Africa as follows:

Because of our origins and traditions, we are basically in sympathy with the desire for independence and nationhood of the emerging states, but we are also friends and allies of the powers

so "The political and historical ideal of independence for subject peoples and the strategic need for dependable bases and safe lines of communication dwell together in American foreign policy like two unwedded persons who hope that the outside world will not observe too closely their unnatural intimacy or the pretenses which necessarily result."—Cornelis W. de Kiewiet, "African Dilemmas," Foreign Affairs, April 1966, p. 448.

who must help us to shape this new status. This places us in a position from which we hope and believe our influence can be exerted to make the transformation of Africa a process of orderly evolution and not one of violent revolution.²¹

An outstanding African leader, Tom Mboya, who has just been elected to the Kenya legislative council, has written that in Africa the United States is "looked upon as the champion" of the U.N. Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights and is counted on to observe their precepts in its domestic and foreign policies. The United States, he said, is "expected to recognize the right of people to self-determination, and not be neutral or uncommitted where this right is threatened or denied." ²² Chester Bowles, former American ambassador to India, has said that what the new African leaders want most from the United States is the "responsible reassertion of the democratic principles which have provided the primary energizing force behind America's growth and influence." ²³

³³ George V. Allen, "United States Foreign Policy in Africa," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July 1956, p. 120.

Tom Mboya, "Our Revolutionary Tradition: An African View," Current History, December 1956, p. 347.

²⁰ Chester Bowles, Africa's Challenge to America (1956), p. 96.

